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Norton's Redeemed Captive.

1746.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Capture and Burning

OF

FORT MASSACHUSETTS

BY THE

FRENCH AND INDIANS,

IN THE TIME OF THE WAR OF 1744–1749, AND THE CAPTIVITY OF ALL THOSE STATIONED THERE, TO THE NUMBER OF THIRTY PERSONS.

WRITTEN AT THE TIME BY ONE OF THE CAPTIVES, THE

REV. MR. JOHN NORTON,

CHAPLAIN OF THE FORT.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED WITH NOTES, BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

ALBANY:
Printed for S. G. DRAKE of *Boston*, by JOEL MUNSELL.
1870.

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NOTICE

OF THE

REV. MR. JOHN NORTON.

R. NORTON was born in Berlin, Connecticut, 1716; graduated at Yale College in 1737. Four years after, namely, in 1741, he was ordained in Fall Town, since Bernardston, Massachusetts, and was the first minister in that town. Owing "to the unsettled state of the times," he continued in Fall Town but about four years; the people had quite as much as they could do to maintain their families, while they were exposed to inroads of the enemy in a war already commenced. The statement of his having been settled at Deerfield in 1741, is probably incorrect. After his return from captivity he was installed pastor of the Congregational church in East Hampton, Middlesex county, Connecticut, November 30th, 1748, where he continued about

thirty years, at which period he fell a victim to the small pox (March 24th, 1748).

Bernard's Town, at the time Mr. Norton preached there was, as just mentioned, called Fall Town. It was thus designated because it was granted to the soldiers, or the descendants of those soldiers who were in the fight with the Indians at the Great Falls in the Connecticut river, May 18th, 1676. While in captivity his wife applied to the government of Massachusetts for the wages due him as chaplain, and at one time received one pound sixteen shillings and six pence, then due, March 12th, 1747.

Mr. Norton's captivity was of one year's continuance, wanting four days. His narrative was printed in 1748, in Boston, "and sold opposite the prison." Who the printer was, or the bookseller, is not mentioned. As Daniel Fowle kept in Queen street at this time, and the prison was in that street, where the court house now is, he was probably the printer. The author was perhaps his own publisher. He appears not to have had much practice as a writer, but what is of more importance, he was evidently one of the most truthful, while the printer did not perform his part with much credit to himself, which might have been the occasion of his withholding his name to Mr. Norton's work.

Mr. Norton was thirty years of age when taken prisoner; and though he has given us a work full of valuable facts, he evidently had had little experience in literary matters, and would

have made his work much more valuable had he re-written it at a later day. But narratives of the kind of this of Mr. Norton's would not at the time of its publication, attract the attention of the reading public. His immediate friends, and the friends of those in captivity with him, were about all who would take any interest in its publication. There was no charm of composition about it. Its details are the dryest possible. Hence its circulation was of the most limited kind. This circumstance may account for its extreme scarcity, which scarcity probably extends back to within a very few years of its publication. Many of the most valuable works have been issued in small editions; a few copies only bound or stitched up to meet the first demands of friends; the rest are taken by the author into the country, perhaps in sheets, and eventually used for waste paper; or, possibly left on the printer's hands to meet a similar fate. Such cases are known to the writer.

[*Copy of the Title-page as originally issued.*]

The Redeemed Captive,

Being a

NARRATIVE

Of the taking and carrying into CAPTIVITY

The Reverend

MR. *JOHN NORTON*

When *Fort Massachusetts* Surrendered to a large Body of *French & Indians* Aug. 20th, 1746.

With a particular Account of the Defence made before the Surrender of that Fort, and the Articles of Capitulation, &c. Together with an account both entertaining and affecting of what Mr. *NORTON* met with and took Notice of, in his travelling to, and while in Captivity at *Canada*, and till his arrival at *Boston*, on *August* 16, 1747.

Written by himself.

Jere. 21–4. *Thus saith the Lord,—Behold, I will turn back the Weapons of War that are in your Hands wherewith ye fight against the King of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans, which besiege you without the Walls & I will assemble them into this City.*

Chap. 50. 33. *The Children of Israel, and the Children of Judah were oppressed together, and all that took them Captives held them fast, they refused to let them go.*

Lam. 1. 3. *Judah is gone into Captivity, because of Affliction.*

Neh. 7. 6. *These are the Children of the Province, that went up out of the Captivity, of those that had been carried away.*

BOSTON: Printed & Sold opposite the Prison. 1748.

Norton's Redeemed Captive.

[3]* THURSDAY, August 14, 1746, I left Fort Shirley,† in company with Dr. [Thomas] Williams, and about fourteen of the soldiers; we went to Pelham Fort, and from thence to Captain Rice's, where we lodged that night.

Friday, the 15th, we went from thence to Fort Massachusetts, where I designed to have tarried about a month.

Saturday, 16th. The doctor, with fourteen men, went off for Deerfield, and left in the fort, Sergeant John Hawks,‡ with twenty soldiers, about half of them sick with bloody flux. Mr. Hawks sent a letter by the doctor to the captain, supposing that he was then at Deerfield, desiring that he would speedily send up some stores to the fort, being very short on it for ammunition, and having discovered some signs of the enemy;

* The figures thus enclosed denote the original pagination of Mr. Norton's work.

† In what is since the town of Heath, about eighteen miles north north west of Northampton, Mass.

‡ The same who was ambushed and wounded at Fort Massachusetts, May 9th, 1746. He had been a captive among the Indians, and was recently returned.

but the letter did not get to the captain seasonably. This day, also, two of our men being out a few miles distant from the fort, discovered the tracks of some of the enemy.

Lord's day and Monday, 17th and 18th, we met with no disturbance, nor did we discover any enemy; but the sickness was very distressing; for though some began to amend, yet there were more taken sick. Eleven of our men were sick, and scarcely one of us in perfect health; almost every man was troubled with the griping and flux.

Tuesday, 19th. Between eight and nine o'clock in the [4] morning, when, through the good providence of God, we were all in the fort, twenty-two men, three women, and five children, there appeared an army of French and Indians, eight or nine hundred in number, commanded by Monsieur Regand de Vaudrŭle,* who, having surrounded the fort on every side, began with hideous acclamations to rush forward upon the fort, firing incessantly upon us on every side. Mr. Hawks, our officer, ordered that we should let them come without firing at all at them, until they should approach within a suitable distance, that we might have a good prospect of doing execution.

We suffered them to come up in a body till they were within twenty rods of us, and then we fired; upon which the enemy soon betook themselves to trees, stumps and logs, where they lay and fired incessantly upon us; some taking opportunity to run from one tree and stump to another, and so drew nearer to the fort. This they did in a very subtle manner, running so crooked that it was very difficult to shoot at them with any

* His real name was Pierre François Rigaud de Vaudreuil. He was brother of the last French Governor of Canada, the Marquis, Pierre François de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal; was born in Montreal, 8th February, 1704. He was living as late as 1770. See Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*, 46.

good prospect of success, until we observed, that when they came to a stump, they would fall down; which we observing, prepared to catch them there as they fell down by the stumps; and this we did probably with success; for they soon left off this method. About this time we saw several of the enemy fall and rise no more; among which was the captain of the St. Francis Indians, who was one of the foremost, and called upon the rest to press on upon the fort. Sergeant Hawks got an opportunity to shoot him into the breast, which ended his days.*

At the beginning of the engagement, the General sent his ensign with his standard (which he, standing [5] behind a tree about thirty rods distant from the fort, displayed), the General also walked up the hill within about forty rods of the fort, where he stood and gave his orders; but being discovered he had a shot or two fired at him; upon which he moved off; but presently after comes to his ensign, where, being discovered, he received a shot in his arm, which made him retreat with his ensign to their camp.

The enemy still continued to fire almost incessantly upon us, and many of them crept up within a dozen rods of the fort. We were straitened for want of shot. Several of our men being newly come into the service, and for want of bullet moulds, had not prepared for any long engagement, and therefore the sergeant ordered some of our sick men to make bullets, another to run some shot, having shot moulds. This put him upon taking particular notice of the ammunition, and he found it to be very short, and therefore gave orders that we should not fire any more than we thought necessary to hold the enemy

* The name of this Chief does not appear to have been mentioned in the French reports of the expedition, nor have the English recorded it. Though the St. Francis tribe were represented at the treaties of 1735 and 1742, no names are given.

back, unless when we had a very good opportunity and fair prospect of doing execution; so that we fired but little. We had sometimes very fair shot, and had success. We saw several fall, who, we are persuaded, never rose again. We might have shot at the enemy almost any time in the day, who were in open view of the fort, within fifty or sixty rods of the same, and sometimes within forty and less; the officers sometimes walking about, sword in hand, viewing of us, and others walking back and forth as they had occasion, without molestation, for we dare not spend our ammunition upon them that were at such a distance.

Towards evening the enemy began to use their axes and hatchets. Some were thoughtful that they were preparing lad-
[6] ders in order to storm the fort in the night; but afterward we found our mistake, for they were preparing faggots in order to burn it. This day they wounded two of our men, viz, John Aldrich they shot through the foot, and Jonathan Bridgman with a flesh wound the back side of his hip. When the evening came on the sergeant gave orders that all the tubs, pails, and vessels of every sort, in every room, should be filled with water, and went himself to see it done; he also looked to the doors, that they were made as fast as possible. He likewise cut a passage from one room to another, that he might put the fort into as good a posture for defense as might be, in case they should attempt to storm it. He distributed the men into the several rooms. While he was thus preparing, he kept two men in the north-west mount,* and some in the great house, the south-east corner of the fort, to watch the enemy and keep them back.

I was in the mount all the evening; it was cloudy and very

* A sort of watch box in an angle or corner of the fort, on the top of the wall.

dark the beginning of the evening. The enemy kept a constant fire upon us, and, as I thought, approached nearer and in greater numbers than they had in the daytime. We had but little encouragement to fire upon the enemy, having but the light of their fire to direct us, yet we dared not wholly omit it, lest they should be emboldened to storm the fort. We fired buck-shot at them, and have reason to hope we did some execution, for the enemy complained of our shooting buck-shot at that time, which they could not have known had they not felt some of them. They continued thus to fire upon us until between eight and nine at night, then the whole army (as we supposed) surrounded the fort, and shouted, or rather yelled, with the [7] most hideous outcries, all around the fort. This they repeated three or four times. We expected they would have followed this with a storm, but were mistaken, for they directly set their watch all round the fort; and besides their watch they sent some to creep up as near the fort as they could, to observe whether any persons attempted to make their escape, to carry tidings to New England.* The body of the army then drew back to their camps; some in the swamp west of the fort, the other part to the south-east, by the river side. We then considered what was best to be done; whether to send a post down to Deerfield or not. We looked upon it very improbable, if not morally impossible, for any men to get off undiscovered; and therefore the sergeant would not lay his commands upon any to go; but he proposed it to several, desired and encouraged them as far as he thought convenient; but there was not a man willing to venture out. So the sergeant, having placed the men in every part of the fort, he

* It seems odd at this day, that but little more than a hundred years ago, one writing of a locality in Massachusetts, should refer to it as out of New England.

ordered all the sick and feeble men to get what rest they could, and not regard the enemy's acclamations, but to lie still all night, unless he should call for them. Of those that were in health, some were ordered to keep the watch, and some lay down and endeavored to get some rest; lying down in our clothes, with our arms by us. I lay down the fore part of the night. We got little or no rest, the enemy frequently raised us by their hideous outcries as though they were about to attack us. The latter part of the night I kept the watch.

Wednesday, 20. As soon as it began to be light the enemy shouted and began to fire upon us for a few minutes, and then ceased for a little time. The serg[8]eant ordered every man to his place, and sent two men up into the watch-box. The enemy came into the field of corn to the south and south-east of the fort, and fought against that side of the fort harder than they did the day before; but unto the north-west side they did not approach so near as they had the first day, yet they kept a continual fire on that side. A number went up also into the mountain north of the fort, where they could shoot over the north side of the fort into the middle of the parade. A considerable number of the enemy also kept their axes and hatchets continually at work, preparing faggots, and their stubbing hoes and spades, etc., in order to burn the fort. About eleven o'clock, Thomas Knowlton, one of our men, being in the watch-box, was shot through the head, so that some of his brains came out, yet life remained in him for some hours.

About twelve o'clock, the enemy desired to parley. We agreed to it, and when we came to General De Voudriule, he promised us good quarter, if we would surrender; otherwise he should endeavor to take us by force. The sergeant told

him he should have an answer within two hours. We came into the fort and examined the state of it. The whole of our ammunition we did not judge to be above three or four pounds of powder, and not more lead: and, after prayers unto God for wisdom and direction, we considered our case, whether there was any probability of our being able to withstand the enemy or not; for we supposed that they would not leave us till they had made a vigorous attempt upon us; and if they did, we knew our ammunition would be spent in a few minutes time, and then we should be obliged [9] to lay at their mercy. Had we all been in health, or had there been only those eight of us that were in health, I believe every man would willingly have stood it out to the last. For my part I should; but we feared, that if we were taken by violence, the sick, the wounded, and the women, would most, if not all of them, die by the hands of the savages; therefore our officer concluded to surrender on the best terms he could get, which were,

I. That we should be all prisoners to the French; the general promising that the savages should have nothing to do with any of us.

II. That the children should all live with their parents during the time of their captivity.

III. That we should all have the privilege of being exchanged the first opportunity that presented.

Besides these particulars, the general promised that all the prisoners should have all christian care and charity exercised toward them; that those who were weak and unable to travel, should be carried in their journey; that we should all be allowed

to keep our clothing; and that we might leave a few lines to inform our friends what was become of us.* .

About three of the clock we admitted the general and a number of his officers into the fort. Upon which he set up his standard. The gate was not opened to the rest. The gentlemen spake comfortably to our people; and on our petition that the dead corpse might not be abused, but buried. They said that it should be buried. But the Indians seeing that they were shut out, soon fell to pulling out the underpinning of the fort, and crept into it, opened the gates, so that the parade was quickly full. They [10] shouted as soon as they saw the blood of the dead corpse under the watch-box; but the French kept them down for some time, and did not suffer them to meddle with it. After some time the Indians seemed to be in a ruffle; and presently rushed up into the watch-box, brought down the dead corpse, carried it out of the fort, scalped it, and cut off the head and arms. A young Frenchman took one of the arms and flayed it, roasted the flesh, and offered some of it to Daniel Smeed, one of the prisoners, to eat, but he refused it. The Frenchman dressed the skin of the arm (as we afterwards heard) and made a tobacco pouch of it.† After they had plundered the fort, they set it on fire, and led us out to their camp.

We had been at their camp but a little time, when Mons. Doty, the general's interpreter, called me aside, and desired me

* Mr. Norton accordingly wrote a brief letter, which he placed upon the well crotch. It was afterwards found by the English. Its contents are given in the history of this war, page 120.

† It was no uncommon thing for the Indians to make use of the skin of their enemies in this way; but instances of the white people imitating them are rare. It is probably true that some of the Kentuckians, in the war of 1812, were guilty of such acts, after General Harrison's victory of the Thames, and perhaps at other times.

to speak to our soldiers, and persuade them to go with the Indians; for he said the Indians were desirous that some of them should go with them; and said that Sergeant Hawks, myself, and the families, should go with the French officers. I answered him, that it was contrary to our agreement, and the general's promise; and would be to throw away the lives of some of our men who were sick and wounded. He said, no; but the Indians would be kind to them; and though they were all prisoners to the French, yet he hoped some of them would be willing to go with the Indians.

We spoke to Sergeant Hawks, and he urged it upon him. We proposed it to some of our men who were in health, whether they were willing to go or not, but they were utterly unwilling. I returned to Doty, and told him that we should by no means consent that any of our men should go with the Indians. [11] We took the General to be a man of honor, and we hoped to find him so. We knew that it was the manner of the Indians to abuse their prisoners, and sometimes to kill those that failed in traveling, and carrying packs, which we knew that some of our men could not do; and we thought it but little better for the General to deliver them to the Indians than it would be to abuse them himself; and had I thought that the general would have delivered any of our men to the savages, I should have strenuously opposed the surrender of the fort, for I had rather have died in fight, than to see any of our men killed while we had no opportunity to resist. He said that the general would see that they should not be abused; and he did not like it that I was so jealous and afraid. I told him I was not the officer, but as he spake to me, so I had freely spoken my mind, and discharged my duty in it; and he had no reason to be offended, and I hoped the general would not insist

on this thing, but would make good his promise to all the prisoners. He went to the general, and after a little time the officers came and took away John Perry and his wife, and all the soldiers but Sergeant Hawks, John Smeed, and Moses Scott, and their families, and distributed them among the Indians. Some French officers took the care of the families, namely, Smeed's and Scott's; and Mons. Demuy * took me with him, and M. St. Luc Lacorn † took Sergeant Hawks with him; and so we reposed that night, having a strong guard set over us.

Thursday, 21. In the morning I obtained liberty to go to the place of the fort, and set up a letter, which I did, with a Frenchman and some Indians in company. I nailed the letter on the west post. This [12] morning I saw Josiah Reed, who was very weak and feeble by reason of his long and tedious sickness. I interceded with the general for him, that he would not send him with the Indians, but could not prevail. I also interceded with the general for John Aldrich, who, being wounded in the foot, was not able to travel; but the interpreter told me they must go with the Indians, but they should not be hurt; and that they had canoes a little down the river, in which the weak and feeble should be carried. We then put up our things, and set on our march for Crown Point, going down the river in Hoosuck road. I was toward the front, and within about half a mile I overtook John Perry's wife; I passed her. M. Demuy traveling apace. I spoke with her, and asked her how she did? She told me that her strength failed her in traveling so fast. I told her God was able to strengthen her.

* His name is variously written in the French accounts, as De Muy, De Muyes, Dumui, etc.; he was a lieutenant in much active service.

† Pierre de Chapt La Corne. He was constantly employed till the fall of Canada, and performed many exploits against the English.

In him she must put her trust, and I hoped she was ready for whatever God had to call her to. I had opportunity to say no more. We went about four miles to the place where the army encamped the night before they came upon us. Here I over took neighbor Perry, which surprised me, for I thought he had been behind me with the French, but he was with the Indians. I asked him after his health. He said that he was better than he had been. I inquired after his wife. He said he did not know where she was, but was somewhere with the Indians; which surprised me very much; for I thought till then she was with the French.

Here we sat down for a considerable time. My heart was filled with sorrow, expecting that many of our weak and feeble people would fall by the merciless hands of the enemy. And as I frequently heard the [13] savages shouting and yelling, trembled, concluding that they then murdered some of our people. And this was my only comfort, that they could do nothing against us, but what God in his holy providence permitted them; but was filled with admiration when I saw all the prisoners come up with us, and John Aldrich carried upon the back of his Indian master. We set out again, and had gone but a little way before we came up with Josiah Reed, who gave out. I expected they would have knocked him on the head and killed him, but an Indian carried him on his back. We made several stops, and after we had traveled about eight miles we made a considerable stay, where we refreshed ourselves, and I had an opportunity to speak to several of the prisoners; especially John Smeed, and his wife, who, being near her time, was filled with admiration at the goodness of God in strengthening her to travel so far.

I saw John Perry's wife. She complained that she was

almost ready to give out. She complained also of the Indian that she went with, that he threatened her. I talked with a French officer, and he said that she need not fear, for he would not be allowed to hurt her. Mons. Demuy, with a number of men, set out before the army, so I took my leave of her, fearing I should never see her more. After this Sergeant Hawks went to the general and represented her case to him. So he went and talked to the Indians, and he was kind to her after this. After we had traveled round the fields, I thought he was about to leave the river, which increased my fears. But I found out the reason; for they only went to look some buildings to plunder, and burn them. A little before sunset we arrived at Vandeverickes place, where we found [14] some of the army, who had arrived before us, but most of them were still behind; and I had the comfort to see the greatest part of the prisoners come up: God having wonderfully strengthened many who were weak; the French carrying the women. There were some few that tarried behind about two miles, where Mrs. Smeed was taken in travail: And some of the French made a seat for her to sit upon, and brought her to the camp, where, about ten o'clock, she was graciously delivered of a daughter, and was remarkably well. The child also was well. But this night Josiah Reed, being very ill, either died of his illness, or else was killed by the enemy; which, I could never certainly know, but I fear he was murdered.*

Friday, 22. This morning I baptised John Smeed's child. He called its name CAPTIVITY. The French then made a frame like a bier, and laid a buck skin and bear skin upon it,

* It might not have been perfectly clear to Mr. Norton when he wrote the above, but it was made clear after the return of the captives, that the man died of his malady. No captives were probably ever treated better under similar circumstances.

and laid Mrs. Smeed, with her infant, thereon; and so two men at a time carried them. They also carried Moses Scott's wife and two children, and another of Smeed's children. The Indians also carried in their canoes, Br. Simon and John Aldrich and Perry's wife, down the river about ten miles.

We had remarkable smiles of Providence. Our men that had been sick, grew better and recovered strength. The enemy killed some cattle which they found in the meadow; so that we had plenty of fresh provisions and broth, which was very beneficial to the sick. I then expressed a concern for the feeble people, understanding that we were to leave the river, and travel through the wilderness near sixty miles; but Mons. Demuy told me I need not fear, for the general had promised those Indians a reward who [15] had the care of the feeble persons, if they would be kind and carry them through the journey.

This night I visited most of the prisoners. This night, also, died two Indians of their wounds. The enemy had got four horses.

Saturday, 23. This morning the general sent off an officer with some men to carry news to Canada. This day we left the river and traveled in the wilderness, in something of a path, and good traveling for the wilderness, something east of north, about fifteen miles; the French still carrying Smeed's and Scott's wives and children; the Indians finding horses for brothers Simon and John Aldrich. Perry being released from his pack, was allowed to help his wife, and carry her when she was weary. About three in the afternoon they were alarmed by discovering the tracts of a scout from Saratoga. This put them into a considerable ruffle, fearing that there might be an army after them. But I presumed that they need not be con-

cerned about it. The body of the army lodged between two ponds, but part, with a number of the prisoners, were sent forward about two miles, till they crossed Sarratago river ; * it is there twenty rods wide, but shallow water. This night also died two more Indians of their wounds.

Lord's day, 24. This day we set out in the morning and came to Sarratago river, crossed it, and came to our company, which had been before us. Here we came to a rich piece of meadow ground, and traveled in it about five miles. We had good traveling this day. We crossed several pieces of good meadow land. We went about eighteen [16] miles. John Perry's wife performed this day's journey without help from any. Our sick and feeble persons were remarkably preserved to-day ; for about two o'clock in the afternoon, there fell a very heavy shower of rain, which wet us through all our clothes. Mrs. Smeed was as wet as any of us, and it being the third day after her delivery, we were concerned about the event ; but through the good providence of God, she never perceived any harm by it, nor did any other person but Miriam, the wife of Moses Scot, who hereby catched a grievous cold. This night we lodged in the meadow, where was a run of water, which makes a part of Wood Creek.

Monday, 25. This morning we set out and traveled about eleven miles. We had something rough traveling to-day. We quickly left the small stream we lodged by at our right hand to the east of us, and, traveling a few miles over some small hills and ledges, came to a stream running from east to west,†

* This was doubtless the Hudson river, but the place of crossing is difficult to be ascertained. The *two ponds* do not appear on any maps in the editor's possession.

† Hence they were at a stream which falls into Lake George; having its rise in the vicinity of Wood Creek ; the latter having its rise in Kingsbury, near the Hudson. The Indian name of Lake

about two or three rods in width, and about two feet deep. We crossed it, our general course being north. We traveled about two or three miles farther and came to a stream running from south-west to north-east, about six rods in width, which we crossed. And this stream (which we suppose to be Wood Creek*), according to the best of my remembrance, and according to the short minute that I made of this day's travel, we left at our right hand to the east of us; but Sergeant Hawks thinks I am mistaken, and that we crossed it again, and left it at the left hand, west of us. I won't be certain, but I cannot persuade myself that [17] I am mistaken.† The French and Indians helping our feeble people, we all arrived well at our camp, which was by a couple of ponds. Some few who were before us went to the drowned land.‡

Tuesday, 26. This day we took our journey. Our course in the morning something west of north. In traveling about three or four miles we came to a mountain, a steep ascent, about eighty or one hundred rods, but not rocky. After we passed this mountain, our course was about west, five or six miles, till we came to the drowned lands. When we came to the canoes, the stream ran from north-east to south-west.§ We embarked about two o'clock; the stream quickly turned

George is *Caniad-eri-oit*, signifying *the tail of the lake.* It is the *Lac du Sacrement* of the French. Wood Creek the Indians called *Ossavages.*

* No doubt that *branch* of Wood Creek which falls into the main stream at what is since Fort Anne — the summit level of the Champlain canal.

† Their difficulty seems to have been in mistaking a *branch* for the *real* Wood Creek.

‡ These extend some three miles along South River on the east side, beginning near Lake Champlain. The Indians call them *Ond-cri-que-gon*, or the conflux of waters. *Bassier's Map*, drawn by order of Gen. Amherst, 1762.

§ East Creek corresponds to this; now called Pawlet river, I suppose, which has its rise in what is Dorset, Vermont.

and ran to the north. We sailed about eighteen or twenty miles that night, and encamped on the east side of the water.

Wednesday, 23. [27th.] We embarked about nine o'clock, and sailed to Crown Point,* something better than twenty miles. Some of the army went in the night before, and some before the body of the army. The sails were pulled down, and the canoes brought up abreast, and passed by the fort over to the north-east point, saluting the fort with three volleys, as we passed by it. The fort returning the salute by the discharge of the cannon. This was about twelve o'clock. Here we tarried till the 4th of September. I lodged in an house on the north-east point. We all arrived better in health than when we were first taken.

Thursday, 28. This day I was invited by Monsieur Demuy to go over and see the fort, which I did. It is something an irregular form, having five sides [18] to it; the ramparts twenty feet thick, the breast work two feet and half; the whole about twenty feet high. There were twenty-one or twenty-two guns upon the wall; some four and six pounders, and there may be some as large as nine pounders. The citadel an octagon built, three stories high, fifty or sixty feet diameter, built with stone laid in lime, the wall six or seven feet thick, arched over the second and third stories for bomb proof. In the chambers nine or ten guns; some of them may be nine pounders, and I believe none less than six, and near twenty patararoes.† But as my time was short I cannot be very par-

* The French built a fort there in 1721, which they named Fort St. Frederic. The Indians gave that spot the name of *Tek-ya-dough-nigarigee*, which signifies two points opposite to each other. *Bassier, ibidem.*

† How much of a *gun* a *patararoe* was, it would have been well if the author had informed us, as we may travel from Blount to Webster without finding out. Perhaps derived from the Spanish *petardo*, or, *patarero*.

ticular. They have stores of small arms, as blunderbusses, pistols and muskets. This night proved very cold and stormy.

Friday, 29. This morning Smeed's and Scot's families were brought out of their tents into the house, that they might be more comfortable. It rained and was very cold all the day, and at night the wind was very high.

Saturday the 30th was something warmer.

Lord's day, 31. We had the liberty of worshiping God together in a room by ourselves. This day, about twelve o'clock, the enemy who went off from us from Hoosuck, the morning after we were taken, returned, and brought in six scalps, viz, Samuel Allen, Eleazer Hawks, Jun., two Amsdels, all of Deerfield; Adonijah Gillet of Colchester, Constant Bliss of Hebron, and one captive, viz., Samuel Allen, son to him who was killed. He was taken with his father and Ealeazer Hawks. The Amsdells and Gillet were killed in Deerfield South Meadow, August 25th. The Indians also acknowledged they lost one man there.* This lad [19] told us they had not then heard in Deerfield of their taking fort Massachusetts. A young Hatacook † Indian was his master, and carried him to St. Francois.

Monday, Sept. 1. Tuesday, 2. Wednesday, 3. We tarried still at Crown Point. The weather was something lowry, but warm. I lived with the general and about half a dozen more officers, who lodged in the same house. Our diet was very good, it being chiefly fresh meat and broth, which was a great benefit to me. We had also plenty of Bourdeaux wine, which being of an astringent nature, was a great kindness to me (having at that time something of the griping and bloody

* See *History of the Five Years War*, pp. 125, 126.

† Perhaps a misprint for *Scattacook*, or *Schaghticoke*.

flux). While we lay here, we wrote a letter to the Hon. John Stoddard, Esq., at Northampton, to give him a particular account of our fight and surrender; as also some other private letters; the French gentlemen giving us encouragement that they would send them down by some of their scouts to some part of our frontiers, and leave them so that they should be found; but I have not heard of them since, and conclude that they destroyed them.*

Thursday, 4. We embarked for Canada about ten o'clock, and sailed about fifteen miles. Our course, I judged to be north, about 10° east, which I take to be the general course from Crown Point to Champlain. Towards night we turned into a cove, the east side of the lake, and encamped, having the land upon the south-west, south and east of us. Here we were to wait for General De Vaudriŭle, whom we left at Crown Point, and expected would come to us this night or in the morning; but the night proved very stormy.

[20] Friday, 5. The wind blowing hard from the north, and some rain, we lay by to-day.

Saturday, 6. About nine o'clock this morning the general came up with us; then we embarked and sailed with a pretty good wind the bigger part of the day. Towards night we saw a few houses on the west side of the lake, but I suppose that they were deserted. We sailed at least three score miles this day. We came to where the lake was but a few miles in width, and encamped on the east shore, where there was a windmill and a few houses, but were all deserted.†

* One certainly found its way to the English, and was seen by Deacon Wright. See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, II, 210.

† No doubt the place afterwards called Windmill Point by the English, and not far from the mouth of Onion river.

Lord's day, 7. We rose early and set sail as soon as it was fair day-light, having a good wind, but the wind fell about eight o'clock, that they were obliged to ply their paddles. When we came to the end of the lake, about eleven o'clock, and were entering Champlain * river, we met a boat with three men in it, who brought a packet of letters for the officers in the army. They gave one to Mons. Demuy. After reading the letter he told me the news he had by them, viz., that there were a number of ships arrived from France to Quebec, who had brought them plenty of stores; that they came in company with a fleet of forty large men of war from the Brest and Toulon squadron; and gave the following account; that the English fleet having blocked up the Brest squadron in the harbor, the admiral of the Brest squadron wrote to the admiral of the Toulon and Rochfort squadrons to come to his assistance; who, coming on the back of the English fleet, and the Brest squadron issuing out at the same time against them, there ensued a terrible [21] fight, in which the French prevailed, and sunk one-half of the English ships, and put the rest to flight, and then they sailed for North America;† that the King sent with them twelve merchant

* *Chambly* or *Chamblee* river is undoubtedly meant; called also *Richelieu*, and *Sorel*, by the French. Further on the same error is noted, where the author speaks of Champlain fort. He did not distinguish between *Champlain* and *Chamblee*.

† There appears to have been absolutely nothing out of which this great fabrication was made. It refers to the mighty fleet under the Duc D'Anville, which was then in mid ocean, it having left Brest on the 22d of June (1746), but did not appear on the New England coast until the beginning of September; and then in too shattered a condition to be feared. His fleet of men of war and transports amounted to about ninety-seven sail; fourteen were ships of war, with three thousand five hundred troops. His fleet was watched by the English, and some of his ships taken. Capt. Leke took one of sixty-four guns; Saumarez one of sixty-four; Boscawen one of fifty, and so forth. The other French squadron referred to was probably that of M. De Tourmell. Saumarez was with Anson in his late voyage round the world.

ships with stores of ammunition, clothing, wine, and brandy, and a thousand soldiers to strengthen Canada; that the men of war were divided into two fleets, one of which did now block up Louisbourg, and were fighting against it, and the other part of the fleet was gone for Boston. He said their King was very angry with New England for their taking Cape Breton; and it was probable he would bring them into subjection. He told me also that they brought news that Edward Stuart, the Pretender's youngest son, was in the North of England, and had a powerful army; and that great numbers of English resorted to him daily,* and it was probable he would prevail to dethrone King George. I told him that, as for this and the fight at sea, I had good reason to think they were false, for I had news from England since the Brest fleet had sailed out, and there was no account of these things, but the contrary. He told me also that Prince William, the Duke of Cumberland,† was killed in battle at Culloden-Muir, and that he was the only person of the House of Hanover which the English nation loved; so that although the King's army got the victory, yet it was a loss to his interest; for the Duke being dead, the English nation would revolt from the House of Hanover, being weary of it, and turn to the House of Stuart. But I told him that the Duke of Cumberland was yet alive, and as he had been a scourge and terror to the King's enemies, so we had reason to hope he would still be. He grew warm in his debate, called the King [22] a usurper, the nation in bringing of him in, Cromwell's faction, and many

* This, though guess-work, was much nearer the real state of the case than the other part of the story. They probably had heard of the defeats of the King's men at Falkirk Moor, Inverness, etc.

† William Augustus, brother of George II. He died *sine prole*, 1765. He put down the Pretender, but showed himself quite as much of a barbarian as those whom he conquered.

other things, upon which we had a considerable debate, until he grew more mild and began to flatter; and told me what an amiable man the Pretender was, and what good times it would be if he came to the throne of England; giving free liberty of conscience to all his subjects; and he did not doubt but that they would return to the church of Rome, which was the true church. Our children, he believed, would come to a good union in religion.

We went on shore at the first house, about three miles above the fort,* where they were called together, and said their prayers; and as soon as they had done, Mons. Dumuy read his letter. Upon which they all shouted, crying, Vive le Roy: q. d. Let the King live. Upon which several of the young men came laughing to me, and by signs endeavored to inform me what the news was. I concluded that these fine tales were framed and sent to meet the army, in order to keep up the courage of the common people and of the Indians, who seemed to repent of their engaging in the war, and to grow very weary of it. Though I found afterwards that the Brest fleet was actually come over, with a design against New England.

From thence we traveled down to Champlain,† where the gentlemen set up their tents, and we had great numbers to visit us of both sexes. There I expected we should have tarried that night. But a little before the sun setting, M. Dumuy came and ordered his canoe's company to embark, and go down the river; and told me I must go with them, and whatever I stood in need of, his people would [23] give me: And indeed I wanted nothing; having good fresh provisions and plenty of wine to drink; but was something surprised at this sudden

* *Chamblee*, or perhaps more probable, *Fort St. John.*

† Chamblee. The author perhaps had no maps to refer to.

remove, and could never know the reason of it, unless it was this, viz, some of the French and Indians going out from Crown Point, while I lay there, fell on a number of our men near Saratago; had killed some and taken some prisoners, and were come to Champlain with one of them; and they wanted to get what news from him they could, and so chose to get me out of the way, and some others, lest we might give him a caution; and he really wanted a caution, for he told them that which he had better have kept to himself, viz, the miserable circumstances of Sarrtago fort.*

We sailed down the river about three miles, and lodged at a poor man's house, who, according to his ability, was courteous to me. I lodged with him in his own bed, which was the first bed I had lodged in since my captivity; and though it was a hard bed, and destitute of linnen, yet it was very comfortable to me.

Monday, 8. This morning there came an Englishman to see me; his name Littlefield. He was taken a lad from Piscataqua, and so continued with the French and lived, having a family at Champlain.† We had a considerable discourse together. About eight o'clock we embarked; some canoes passing down the river on the opposite side. We sailed over the river and met with Mons. Dumuy and took him in. We sailed down the river about fifteen miles and dined with a priest. The country on Champlain ‡ river appeared very poor; it being cold sour land. It is inhabited on each side, but the buildings are [24] generally but poor huts. This day Mons. Dumuy

* This affair is mentioned in the *Particular History of the Five Years War*, page 127.

† Persons of the name of Littlefield were great sufferers in the earlier Indian wars. See *Penhallow*, *Indian Wars*, pp. 44, 47, 71.

‡ Chamblee.

tells me another piece of news, viz, 'that one of their men of war had taken an English man of war near Louisbourg, after a whole day's engagement; that the blood was midleg deep upon the Englishmen's deck when he surrendered.' I told him they fought courageously. He said, 'True, but they were taken notwithstanding.' He said 'they had taken three hundred and twenty men out of her, who were coming up to Quebec, where I should meet them.' This was nothing but the Albany sloop, one of the men of war's tenders, which Governor Knowles sent with a packet from Louisbourg for Boston. There were but seventy men in her. She was taken by a French man of war near Jebucta. About two o'clock it began to rain, and continued a cold rain all the rest of the day. We sailed down the river between thirty and forty miles, and then carried over our canoes and packs across the land to St. Lawrence, which was about three miles; and we came to it above Lozel,* and there we lodged that night, in a French house.

Tuesday, 9. This morning being something lowery, we did not set out very early. The wind was northeasterly and pretty high. About nine o'clock we set sail up the river for Mountreal. It was good sailing. We dined at a French gentleman's house on the eastern shore. There was an Irish doctor came and dined with us — his name O'Sullivan. He pretended a great deal of respect for me, and compassion towards all the prisoners; a great deal of friendship to the English nation, and especially for the House of Hanover; and he inquired after the state of Scotland, and pretended to rejoice that the Duke of [25] Cumberland had got such a victory over the Pretender and the rebels. But I presently found he grew weary in hearing the particulars; and therefore to mortify him

* *Sorrel* is doubtless the place meant. The outlet of Lake Champlain.

the more, I told him all that I could;* then we set sail and went within about five miles of Mount Real. The weather was something tedious, and it rained in the afternoon.

Wednesday, 10. This morning it rained very hard till near ten o'clock, about which time the general and some others passed by us, and we embarked directly upon it, and arrived at Mount-Real about twelve o'clock.

Mons. Demuy took me to the Governors. He said but little to me. He only told me, that for the time I tarried at Mount-Real, I should keep at Mons. Demuy's, but that after a few days he must send me with the rest of the prisoners, to Quebec. I went with Mons. Demuy, and was courteously entertained by him for the time I tarried at Mount-Real. In the afternoon came an Englishwoman to visit me. She was, I judged, between sixty and seventy years of age. She was taken when a child from Merrimack-River. Her name Hannah Rie. She had been married to a Frenchman, by whom she had four children, three sons and one daughter. Her daughter was married and had several children, and came to see me. I saw also one of her sons. She had been a widow about fourteen years, but was under very comfortable circumstances. There was another Englishwoman came to see me, who was taken from the eastward, but I have forgot both her name and place where she was taken from.

Friday [Thursday], 11. This day I tarried at Mons. Demuy's, where the Major of the town visited me. He told [26] me that he married an Englishwoman whose name was Storer.† She was taken when a child by Indians, from Pisca-

* The author appears to have suspected Dr. O'Sullivan's sincerity with no good reason, judging from anything which he tells us.

† Mention was often made of children being carried off by the Indians, without any family being named; as in this case: "1710. This summer, four

taqua; that one of his sons was down at the taking of us. Mrs. St. La Germine, one of his wife's cousins, who was also taken with her, came with the major, and was able to discourse in the English tongue. She told me that the Rev. Mr. Storer* of Watertown was her brother, and that she wanted to hear from her friends; but I was not acquainted with any of them.

Friday, 12. This day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we embarked in boats, and set sail for Quebec, and sailed down the river about five leagues. There were all that were taken with me but six men who were yet with the Indians, and John Perry's wife, who was at the Three-Rivers. There were also four Dutch with us, who were taken near Sarratago. We lodged in a house upon the north-west side of the St. Lawrence's river.

Saturday, 13. This day we had a fair wind, and sailed down the river twenty-five leagues, when we arrived at the Three Rivers. We went into an inn. The general and some others of the gentlemen which went down with us, presently went out to the Governors, leaving only their soldiers to guard us. And after a little time the Governor sent for Sergeant Hawks and me to come and sup with him. Accordingly we went, and were courteously and sumptuously entertained by him; and while we sat at supper the gentlemen fell into discourse about the wars, and about the wounds they had received. The general's wound was discoursed upon, and the Governor desired Sergeant Hawks to show his scars, which he did. The

children are taken at Exeter while at play." *Belknap (Farmer's edition)*, 178.

* The Rev. Seth Storer was ordained at W., 22 July, 1724. *Francis*, 78. The author speaks of notes in Mr. Storer's old Almanacs, which he had seen. *Three Discourses*, 12. He died Nov. 27, 1774, æ. 72. *A. B. Fuller's Record.* He was born in Saco, the son of Col. Joseph Storer. *Allen.* Benjamin Storer was killed at Wells, April 12, 1677. Hubbard. *Indian Wars*, II, 230.

Gover[27]nor then informed us of a fight he had been in at sea in former wars, in which he received fifteen wounds, and he shewed us several scars. This I thought was a very remarkable thing, that he should receive so many wounds, and yet have his life spared. This night John Perry's wife was also brought to us, and added to our number.

Lord's day, 14. We set sail, but received little help from the wind. The soldiers were obliged to row the greatest part of the day; but at night, the tide favoring of us, we sailed till two or three o'clock in the morning. We sailed in the day and night twenty-three leagues. Then we went on shore the north-west side of the river, and lodged at a house in a small village.

Monday, 15. This day we sailed seven leagues and came to Quebec. We were landed at the east point of the town, where St. Lawrence meets with Loretto,* and were conducted up by a number of soldiers through the lower town to the Governor General's,† where I was taken into his private room, and he desired me to tell him what news we had in New England. I told him of considerable news we had from Europe concerning the Duke of Cumberland's victory over the rebels. He seemed to have a great mind to persuade me that the Duke was killed, but I told him he was alive and well. I told him of several other pieces of news, but none very good for the French. He told me he had heard that we designed an expedition against Canada. He asked what there was in it. I told

* A small village of Christian Indians, three leagues north-east of Quebec. It has its name from a chapel built according to the model of the Santa Casa at Loretto in Italy; from which an image of the Holy Virgin has been sent to the converts here, resembling that in the famous Italian sanctuary. These converts are Hurons. *Morse.*

† Roland Michel Barrin, Count de la Galissonière was at this time Governor of New France.

him that I lived at a great distance from Boston, and could say but little about it. I had heard that his Majesty had sent over to some of the governors in America, that he had thoughts of an ex[28]pedition against Canada, and would have them in readiness to assist him, in case he should send a fleet over. He inquired what it was that had put it by. Something, he said, was the matter. I told him I could not tell; so he seemed to be pretty easy.

After this I was conducted to the Lord Intendants, who inquired also after news, both of me and Sergeant Hawks; after which he gave us a glass of wine; then we were conducted to the prisoner's house, which is a guard-house standing by a battery towards the south-west end of the town, about one hundred and fifty feet in length, and twenty in width, and two stories high; and we made to the number of one hundred and five prisoners. Here we had the free liberty of the exercise of our religion together, which was matter of comfort to us in our affliction. Sergeant Hawks and myself were put into the Captain's room, where we found three English masters of vessels, viz, Mr. William Chapman of Maryland, Mr. James Southerland* of Cape Cod, and Capt. William Pote† of Casco Bay, who had all been prisoners near sixteen months.

Tuesday, 16. This day there came some gentlemen to see me, among whom was Mr. Joseph Portois, who understands the English tongue, and Mr. Pais, who, Mr. Portois told me, was his kinsman, and that he was a protestant, and came

* The name of Southerland or Sutherland is of rare occurrence in New England records. It occurs but twice in the twenty-three volumes of the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, and then with no reference to a Cape Cod residence.

† He belonged to Portland; went there from Marblehead; had seven sons; built the two story house near Woodford's Corner on the old road from Portland. See Willis, *Portland*, 637, where other interesting particulars may be found.

on purpose to see me, and to shew me a kindness. He gave me twenty-four livres in cash. From this time to the 23d, there was nothing remarkable happened, only this: — that the jesuits and some unknown gentlemen, understanding I was short on it for clothing, sent me several shirts, a good winter coat, some caps, a pair of stockings, and a few handkerchiefs, which were very acceptable.

[29] Tuesday, 23. Capt. William Pote was taken ill with the fever and flux. Jacob Reed was also taken with the same. This day came into prison two of our men who had been with the Indians, viz, David Warren, and Phinehas Forbush, who informed that John Aldrich was in the hospital at Mount-Real. They informed us, also, concerning some other prisoners who were taken from New England, and with the Indians.

Wednesday, 24. There came unto prison forty-three new prisoners, who were taken at sea by a couple of French men of war. Among whom was Mr. William Lambert, master of the Billinder,* one of the men of war's tenders, who was taken near Jebucta, as she was going from Louisbourg to Boston, and Zephaniah Pinkham, master of a whaling sloop from Nantucket; and John Phillips, master of a fishing schooner from Marblehead.

Thursday and Friday, 25, 26. There came in about seventy-four prisoners, all taken at sea by the aforesaid men of war; among whom were several masters of vessels. This day † there also came in Jacob Shepherd, who was taken with me, and had been with the Indians, and one widow Briant, taken the spring before, near Casco Bay. There was nothing further

* Properly *Bylander*. A coasting vessel, so named as expressive of its *along-shore* use. I do not know why it is not in the dictionaries.

† October 1, Jacob Shepard, of Westborough, taken at Hoosuck, was brought to prison. October 3, Jonathan Batherick was brought to prison. *How*, 19.

remarkable in this month; so that we were by this time increased to the number of two hundred and twenty-six.

Lord's day, October 5. There came in seventeen prisoners, viz, three of our men, Nathaniel Hitchcock, Stephen Scot, and John Aldrich; two taken by Indians at the Eastward, viz, Richard Stubs,* and Pike Gordon; and twelve from the Bay Verde.

Lord's day, 12. There came twenty-four men taken at sea by the Lazora and Le Castore men of war.

[30] Wednesday, 22. I sent a petition to his lordship the General of Canada or New France, to permit me to go home to New England, upon a parole of honor, setting me a suitable time, and I would return again to him; but I could not prevail.

Thursday, 23. Edward Cloutman and Robert Dunbar, two prisoners, broke prison and made their escape. But it was found out the next morning, and we were upon it threatened to be confined to our rooms, but this threatening was never executed; the only consequent in respect to us was to have a stricter guard kept about us; but they sent out a number of men in pursuit after them.†

Friday, 31. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Pinkham, with about a dozen of their men, went out from us in order to return home; but they went by the way of the West Indies.‡

Here I shall speak of the sickness that prevailed among the prisoners. It had generally been very healthy in the prison before this fall; for though there had been some prisoners there sixteen months, and about fifty nine months, yet there had but

* Taken at New Casco. *Ibidem.* Oct. 19. Six seamen are brought to prison. Oct. 20. Jacob Read died. *Ibidem.*

† Oct. 27. A man was brought to prison, and says the Indians took five more, and brought ten scalps to Montreal. *Howe*, 19.

‡ They may have been exchanged. The author seems not to have known on what terms they went away.

two died; the first, Lawrence Platter.* He was taken at Sarratago, Nov. 17, 1745, and died the winter following. —— Johnes,† taken at Contoocook in the summer, 1746, and died in August following.

But our people who were taken at sea by the two French men of war, viz, the Lazora and Le Castore, found a very mortal epidemical fever raged among the French on board their ships, of which many of them died. The prisoners took the infection, and a greater part of them were sick while they lay [31] in Jebucta‡ harbor; yet but one or two of them died of it. And when they set out from thence for Menis, some of them were sick, and some they left sick at Menis when they set out for Canada. Some of them were taken with the distemper upon their passage to Canada, and so brought the infection into the prison; and the fever being epidemical, soon spread itself into the prisons to our great distress.

Those who brought it into the prison mostly recovered, and so there were many others that had it and recovered; but the recovery of some was but for a time,—many of them relapsed and died. It put me in mind of that text, Jude, ver. 5, '*I will therefore put you in remembrance, tho' ye once knew this, how that the Lord having saved the people out of the Land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believe not.*' Not that I have any reason to think ill of those upon whom the sickness fell, and who died with it. Many of them, I hope, were truly pious and godly persons. I thought we might very properly take up the Lamentation of Jeremiah, Lam. 1, 18. '*The Lord is*

* *Plaffer* is probably the name intended. See *Particular History*, 86, 87, where will be found an account of the depredation in which he was taken.

† Thomas Jones. See *Ibidem*, 95.

‡ Chebucto, a bay and harbor on the S. S. E. coast of Nova Scotia. Near its head, on the west side, is Halifax, settled by the English in 1749. See Morse, *Gazetteer*, ed. 1797, art. CHEBUCTO.

righteous, for I have rebelled against his commandment. Hear I pray for you, all people, and behold my sorrow. My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity.' Ver. 20. '*Abroad the sword devoureth, at home there is death.*'

Monday, 20. Jacob Reed died. He was taken at Gorham-Town, near Casco Bay, April 19, 1746.*

November 1. This day died John Reed, son to Jacob Reed, deceased. He had been a soldier in Annapolis, and was taken near the fort by some Indians, May 9, 1745.

Nov. 10. Died one —— Davis,† a soldier belonging [32] to the King's forces at Louisbourg. He was taken on the island of St. John's, July 10th, 1746.

Nov. 13. Died John Bingham. He belonged to Philadelphia, and was taken at sea, May 22, 1745.

Nov. 17, died Nathan Eames.‡ He belonged to Marlborough in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts, August 20, 1746.

Nov. 18. Died at night, Andrew Sconce. He was taken near Albany, August 17th, 1747.

Nov. 20. Died John Grote of Shenectada. He was taken April 27th, 1746.§

About this time|| there came into prison two men who were taken at Sheepscot in the eastward. Their names Robert Adams and John McNeer. They were taken October 20th.

* See *Particular History*, etc., page 90.

† John Davis, and he died Nov. 9. *How*, 19.

‡ He was doubtless a descendant of Thomas Eames of Sudbury, who was so great a sufferer in Philip's war. Barry (in his *Framingham*) has no *Nathan*, but a *Nathaniel*, who died, he says, Jan. 1st, 1746.

§ On the same day, Mr. Norton married the two captives, Leonard Lydle and Mrs. Sarah Briant. His reason for not mentioning it in his narrative may be conjectured.

|| November 19th. *How*, 19.

They informed that one of their neighbors, named Anderson, was then killed.*

The sickness increasing and spreading itself so greatly, we sent a very humble petition to his Lordship, the Governor General, intreating that the sick might be removed out of the hospital, least the whole prison should be infected; but he refused to send our people to the hospital, for they told us that their hospital was full of their own sick; yet he did not wholly neglect our petition, but ordered that one of the most convenient rooms in the prison should be assigned for the sick, where they should all be carried, and have their attendance, and this was directly done, and the sick were all brought in.†

Nov. 24. Died John Bradshaw. He belonged to Capt. Donahew. He was taken when Capt. Donahew was killed at Canso, June 29th, 1745. He was wounded when taken, but recovered of his wounds; soon fell into a consumptive way, and died of it.

[33] Nov. 28. Died Jonathan Dunham. He was taken with Capt. Pote near Annapolis, May 17th, 1745. He died after eight or ten days sickness.

Nov. 29. Died William Bagley.‡ He was master of a vessel taken at sea, May 29th, 1746.

December 1. Died Gratis Vanderveriske, after a tedious sickness of six or seven weeks. He belonged to Sarratago, was taken by the enemy, November 17th, 1745.

Dec. 6. Died Pike Gordon. He was taken from Biddeford, September 5th, 1746; was sick eleven days, and all the time deprived of his reason.

* Nov. 22. The abovesaid Anderson's uncle was brought to prison. *How*, 19.

† Jonathan Dunham died. *How*, 20.

‡ *How* has this under the same date: "Capt. Bailey of Almsbury died." *Bagley* is probably the right name.

Dec. 7. Died Martha Quaquinbush, a girl* taken at Sarratago, Nov. 17th, 1745. She had a long and tedious sickness; what it was is uncertain.*

Dec. 11. Died Mirriam the wife of Moses Scott. She was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts. She got a cold in her journey, which proved fatal, her circumstances being peculiar. She was never well after our arrival at Canada, but wasted away to a mere skeleton, and lost the use of her limbs.

Dec. 15. Died John Boon. He was taken at sea, May 1st,† 1746. He died of a consumption; belonged to Devonshire in England.

Dec. 18. Died Mary Woodwell, wife to David Woodwell,‡ of New Hopkinton on Merrimack river. She lay in a burning fever about a fortnight. She was taken captive, April 27th, 1746.

Dec. 23. Died Rebecca the wife of John Perry. She was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts, August 20th, 1746. Her illness was different from all the rest. She had little or no fever; had a cold, and was exercised with wrecking pains until she died.

Dec. 24. I was taken with the distemper; was seized with a very grievous pain in the head and back [34] and a fever; but I let blood in the morning, and took a good potion of physic, and in a few days another; so that I soon recovered again.

Dec. 26. Died Wm. Daily of New York. He belonged to Capt. Rouse's ship, and was taken upon St. John's Island, July 10th, 1746. He had a very long and tedious sickness;

* She was ten years of age. *How.*

† One of Capt. Robertson's lieutenants died. *How.*

‡ See *Particular History*, etc., p. 92, where will be found some particulars of her singular vicisitudes of fortune.

several times he seemed to be in a way to recover; but took relapses, till he was worn out. He swelled in his neck and side of his face, and mortified.

January 2, 1746–7. Died Thomas Atkinson of Lancashire in England; was taken at sea, May, 1745; his sickness very tedious about eight or nine days before his death.

Jan. 3. Died Jonathan Hogadorn. He belonged to the county of Albany, and was taken on a scout near Fort Ann, Nov. 16th, 1745; had a long and tedious sickness of more than two months continuance.*

"The sickness thus increasing, there were many taken sick, which I do n't pretend to mention. The sickness also got into the prison-keeper's family. He lost a daughter by it, the 4th instant. Upon this the Governor ordered a house to be provided for the sick, where they were all carried the 12th instant, about twenty in number, with three men to attend them; and after this, when any were taken sick, they were carried out to this house.

Jan. 12. Died at night, Francis† Andrews, of Cape Ann. He was taken at sea, June 24, 1746, and died of the bloody flux, after a tedious spell of it.

Jan. 15. Died at night, Jacob Bagley,‡ of Newbury, after about two days sickness. He was taken at sea, May 26th, 1746.

Jan. 27. Died Guyart Brabbon,§ of Maryland, after ten weeks sickness; taken at sea, May 22d, 1745.

* Jan. 4. The Rev. Mr. Norton was so far recovered from sickness that he preached two discourses from Psal. 60, 11.

† *How*, p. 20, gives the name *Phineas* Andrews.

‡ *How*, *ibidem*, gives the fact thus: Jacob *Baley*, brother of Capt. Bailey aforesaid, died.

§ Giat Braban, Capt. Chapman's carpenter. *Ibidem.*

[35] Jan. 23. Died Samuel Lovet, after near a month's sickness. He was taken with me.*

Feb. 11. Died in the morning, Moses Scot, son to Moses Scot. He was a child of about two years old, and died with the consumption. In the afternoon died Wm. Galbaoth,† a Scots-man. He was taken at sea, April 4th, 1746; was sick about a month before he died.

About this time I had another turn of illness. I had a grievous pain in my head and back. The doctor blooded me, and advised me to go to the hospital; for, he said, I was going to have the distemper, but, by careful living, I soon recovered, and escaped the distemper.

Feb. 23. Died Richard Bennet. He belonged to Capt. Rouse's ship, and was taken at the island St. Jon's, July 10th, 1746. He belonged to the Jerseys, and had a long and tedious sickness.

Feb. 24. Died Michael Dogan, an Irishman. He listed at Philadelphia, a soldier for Louisbourg, and was taken in his passage by a French man of war. He had been sick, and recovered, but took a relapse the 20th instant.

March, 1747. The fore part of this month our people were generally better in health than they had been, and we were in hopes the distemper would abate; yet there was a number sick.

March 5. We had news from Nova Scotia, that the French, under the command of Mons. Ramsey, had fallen

* He was son of Major Lovet of Mendon. *How*, 20.

† Printed *Garwafs* in *How*, p. 20. Feb. 15. My nephew, Daniel How, and six more were brought down from Montreal to Quebec, viz., John Sunderland, John Smith, Richard Smith, William Scot, Philip Scofil, and Benj. Tainter, son to Lieut. Tainter of Westborough. *How*, 20–1.

upon an English army at Minis, had killed one hundred and thirty-three, and had taken four hundred prisoners; but the truth I suppose was, that they had killed about seventy, and taken about as many more.

March 18. Died Thomas Magra, an Irishman. He was taken in the Billinder. His sickness was very short.

[36] March 21. Died John Fort, servant, a Dutchman. He was taken on a scout near Fort Ann, November 16th, 1745. He died of a consumption. The same day died Samuel Goodman of South Hadley. He was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts, and died of the scurvy.

March 29. Died Mary, the wife of John Smeed, after a tedious sickness of about eight weeks; was taken with me.

April 7. Died John Smeed, Jun. He was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts. He was seized with the distemper in October last, and was bad for a time, and then recovered in some good measure, and after a little time relapsed, and as he did several times, till at last he fell into a consumption, of which he died.

April 8. Died Philip Scaffield. He belonged to Pennsylvania soldiers, was taken near Albany, October, 1746. His sickness was short, but his fever very violent.

April 10. Died John Jordan, master of a vessel taken at sea, June 1st, 1746. He came sick into prison, but seemed to recover; and so had frequent relapses till he died. He belonged to the Bay government.

The same day died Antonio, a Portuguese. He was taken in the English service, and so always kept confined. His sickness was short.

April 12. Died Amos Pratt. He was taken with me. He had a hard turn of the Fever in November and December,

but recovered; was taken again the latter end of March, and so continued till he died.

April 13. Died Timothy Cummings. He was taken near George's fort, where he belonged, May 22d, 1746. His sickness was short but very tedious.

April 16. Died John Dill. He belonged to Nantaskett; was mate of a sloop, and taken at sea, near Jebucta, May 29th, 1746. His sickness was upon him about ten days before his death.

[37] April 17. Died Samuel Evans of Newbury. He was taken at sea with Capt. William Bagley. He had a fortnight's sickness.

April 18. Died Samuel Vaughn,* one of Capt. Rouse's men, taken at St. John's, July 10th, 1746. He belonged to Plymouth in New England. He was sick about eight days before his death.

April 27. Died Joseph Denning of Cape Ann, master of a fishing schooner, taken at sea, June 24th, 1746. He was exercised with purging the greatest part of the winter, and was worn out with it and died.

April 30. Died Susanna Mc Cartees, infant child.

The 28th of this instant, when the prisoners were all confined in their rooms, but one or two in the lower room cooking the pot, the prison house took fire. It began on the ridge. We supposed that it catched by sparks lighting upon it. It being very dry, and something windy, it soon spread upon the house, and we could not come at it, having no ladder, to quench it. There were no lives lost, but many lost their bedding and clothing.

We were conducted by a strong guard to the governor's

* Printed in *How's Narrative*, page 21, *Venhon*.

yard, where we were kept till near night, when we were conducted to the back of the town to the old wall, in a bow of which they had set up some plank tents something like sheep's pens. We had boards flung down to lay our beds upon, but the tents generally leaked so much in wet weather, that none of us could lie dry, and had much wet weather this month.

The gentlemen of our room sent in a petition the beginning of May, that they might be removed to some more convenient place. Upon which we had a house built for us in the prisoner's yard, about twenty feet square, into which we were removed the 23d instant. This was something more comfortable than the tents. In this yard we were confined, having the wall behind it and at each end, and the fort side picketed in, and a guard of about twenty men to keep us in both by day and night.

N. B. I should have observed that several prisoners were brought into prison before this; as Feb. 15th, there came in seven men from Mount-Real, taken the summer before. [38] In March there came into prison a Dutchman from Schanectada, and a woman from Saratago.

April 26th, there came into prison, three persons taken some time before at Saratago, and Jonathan Williamson, taken at Wiscassett, at the eastward, April 13th, 1747.*

* Probably an error, and should be 1746, unless this was the second time Williamson was a captive. His place was at Broad Bay, and Smith says —*Journal*, 42 — news came to Falmouth, May 21 (1746) that "the Indians had burnt all the houses at Broad Bay." Sullivan says, page 168, that he returned out of captivity the next year (1748). Williamson lived at Broad Bay, and was doubtless taken when the place was destroyed. If he were taken on the 13th of April, and delivered at Quebec on the 26th following, it was rather a short time (thirteen days) in which to take him through the wilderness, judging from what is stated respecting the tedious journeyings of Indian captives of that time. Nehemiah How also records the arrival of Williamson, and How died May 25th following; hence this reduces the journey to twelve days, if Williamson was taken in 1747. Circumstances seem to authorize the correction we have made.

May 9. Died Sarah, the relict of Wm. Bryant. She was taken at Gorham Town, near Casco Bay, April 19th, 1746. Her husband and four of her children were then killed; one escaping. She was taken sick the 1st of May.

May 13. Died Daniel Smeed, a young man. He was taken with me, and was son to John Smeed. He was first taken sick in November, and by frequent relapses was worn out, and fell into a purging, by which he wasted away and died.

May 14. Came into prison John Larmon, taken at Damascota, in the eastward, by eleven Indians, April 27th, 1747, and informed that his wife and daughter were killed by them.

May 15. Died in the morning Christian Tedder,* of Schenectada, taken May 7th, 1746. He was taken sick about the beginning of this month.

The same day died Mr. Hezekiah Huntington, son to Col. Huntington of Norwich in Connecticut. He was taken at sea, June 28th, 1746. He was well beloved and much lamented by all sober religious persons.†

This day also died Joseph Gray of Maryland. He was taken by sea, May 22d, 1745. A likely young man. Thus we had three likely young men taken from us in one day.

May 17. Died Captivity Smeed, an infant about nine months old, daughter to John Smeed.

May 18. Died Samuel Martin of Lebanon in Connecticut; a likely young man, taken at sea. His sickness short.

This day there came into Quebec, a schooner and sloop from Martineco. In their passage they took a sloop bound from Philadelphia to Antigua, and brought in four of her men. This day came up three prisoners from Bay Verde, viz., George

* *How* has the name *Fether*.

† See *Particular History*, p. 97.

Schavolani, Zechariah Hubbard, and a Negro, and three from the frontiers of New England.

May 19. Died Samuel Burbank, of New Hopkinton, an old man, taken April 22d, 1746.* The same day died Abraham Fort, son to John Fort, deceased, taken near Fort Ann, November 16th, 1745.

[39] May 20. I was taken ill with a grievous pain in my head, and a sore eye, that I was almost blind with it. The 21st I yielded to be sick. Capt. Roberts and Capt. Williams were also both of them very sick, being taken a few days before me. This day I was blooded, having something of the fever. The 23d I was blooded again; the doctor also gave me a bottle of eye-water, and advised me not to be concerned about the fever. I was sensible they did not apprehend how ill I was. I intreated of him to give me a potion of physic, which he did, the 25th, and it worked very well. In the night I fell into a sweat, and was in hopes it would go off, but I was sadly disappointed, for I grew worse the next day. My reason departed from me, and returned not, until the 14th of June. Part of this time I was given over by every one that saw me. I had the nervous fever, and was very much convulsed. I was exceeding low and weak when I first came to myself, but I recovered strength as soon as could be expected; for, by the 24th of June, I got out, and went into the chamber.

May 21. Died Robert Williams. He belonged to England, and was taken at sea.

May 22. Died Nathaniel Hitchcock of Brimfield. He was taken with me.

* See *Particular History*, page 92, where the circumstances of the attack on Hopkinton are detailed. "At the same time [the death of Mr. Burbank happened] died two children, who were put out to the French to nurse." *How*, 22. May 19, he mentions receiving a letter from Major Willard, which is his last entry.

May 25. Died Mr. Nehemiah How, of No. 2, aged about fifty-six; taken at Great Meadow, October 11th, 1745.*

May 26. Died Jacob Quaquinbush, and Isaac his son, both taken at Sarathtoga, November 17th, 1745.

May 30. Died Jacob Shepherd, a pious young man, well beloved and much lamented. He was taken with me.

June 3. Died Robert David Roberts of Dartmouth, in England, master of a snow, taken at sea, May 1st, 1746.

June 10. Died John Pitman of Marblehead, of the scurvy, taken at sea, May 27th, 1747.

June 12. Died Abraham De Grave of Sechanectada, taken Oct., 1746.

June 17. Died Samuel Stacy, taken at Menis, Feb., 1746, 7.

June 20. Died William Nason of Casco Bay, taken at Menis, February, 1746, 7.

June 30. Died Matthew Loring, taken at sea, May 29th, 1746.

[40] This month there came into prison several prisoners; first, there were three prisoners brought from Mont Real, two of which were taken at Sarratoga, Feb. 22d, 1746, and one from Canterhook, April 10th, 1747. One man killed; at the same time a woman and child captivated with him.

June 5. Came in two men taken at Pemaquid. There were twelve men killed when they were taken.

June 11. We had an account from the French, that they had taken a number of Indians and Dutch, who had first done some mischief in Canada. There was about fifty in the whole scout, and they had taken about ten or twelve of them in this

* An account of his captivity was published in 1748, and republished in *Drake's Collection of Indian Captivities*, 1839. See, also, *Particular History*, 85.

month. There came also thirty-six prisoners from Nova Scotia, most of which were taken at Menis, February, 1746, 7.

July 2. Died Archibald Gartrage, a child, and son to Charles Gartrage, aged nine months.

July 4. Died William Prindle, a Louisbourg soldier, a New England man originally, taken at St. John's, July 10th, 1746.

July 11. Died Corporal William Norwood. He belonged to his Majesty's troops which came from Gibraltar to Louisbourg, taken at St. John's, July 10th, 1746.

July 16. Died James Doyl. He was taken at sea, May 29th, 1746.

The same day died Phinehas Forbush, of Westboro', taken at Fort Massachusetts with me. He was a very likely man.

July 21. Died Jonathan Brigman, of Sunderland. He was taken with me at Fort Massachusetts.

July 25. We came on board the ship Verd Le Grace,* which the governor of Canada sent with a flag of truce to Boston. The 27th we set sail for New England, at ten in the morning. August 1st we came in sight of Cape Breton Island.

August 11. Died on board our flag of truce, Nicholas Burt. He belonged to the West of England, and was taken at sea, May 1st, 1746. Died in captivity, in all, seventy-three.

August 16. We arrived at Boston. The sick and infirm were taken to the hospital. Col. Winslow† sent to me and

* The ship Vierge-de-Grace [Handsome Virgin], Captain Larregni. See *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 118.

† Probably John Winslow, of the fourth generation from Governor Winslow of the Mayflower. He was in the calamitous Cuba expedition of 1740; in the Nova Scotia expedition of 1755, and general and commander-in-chief at Fort William, 1756; councillor of the Province, etc., etc.; died in Hingham, 1774, aged seventy-two. In the *News-Letter* of 5 June, 1760, is this notice: "In Capt. Watts came passenger General Winslow, who was welcomed ashore and congratulated by a great number of people, upon his return to his native country."

desired me to come and tarry with him while I continued in Boston. I thankfully accepted it, and was courteously entertained. This was a day of great joy and gladness to me. May I never forget the many great and repeated mercies of God towards me.

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